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Human Events THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

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Vol. XVII, No. 45 November 10, 1960 Section 1 — News

GOLDWATER: *Warns of Kennedy-Reuther* (545)

NEWSMEN: *Most were out to hurt Nixon* (545)

DIXIE: *Why Kennedy is opposed there* .....(546)

COPE: $$ *windfall for "liberal" candidates* (546)

KENNEDY: *Book pinpoints inconsistencies* (548)

Word from Goldwater: "This is Reuther's year. It is the culmination of his quarter of a century effort to capture the US Government and turn it into a Socialist state," said Senator Barry Goldwater to HUMAN EVENTS in an exclusive interview last week.

The Arizonan warned that unless conservatives get out and vote decisively against Kennedy, the Detroit Labor Boss will triumph. "If Kennedy wins, Reuther—by reason of his formidable labor political machine—will control the White House. He may well, also, control Congress, because many members have incurred obligations to COPE in their re-election campaigns." (See page 546.)

Goldwater goes on: "With Reuther designing and directing the execution of a legislative program, Kennedy's New Frontier blueprint for an American welfare state will make FDR's New Deal look puny and comparatively conservative."

Thus, the Arizona Senator pointed out, the ambitious Labor Boss will find success in his 25 year crusade to turn the old American labor movement into a national Socialist labor party. "The consequences," commented Goldwater, "of such a Reuther success would undoubtedly have grave effects on the American system, with one major party vowed to a philosophy of class warfare."

How would such a Reuther victory affect the economic situation in this country? Goldwater replied: "A Kennedy victory would be especially dangerous at this juncture because it would be a combination of Reuther and Galbraith. This Harvard professor of weird economics, who looks tolerantly on inflation, is touted as the man whom Kennedy will select as Secretary of the Treasury in case of a Democratic victory. The combination of 'big spender' Reuther and 'soft money' Galbraith would take over at a time when gold is leaving the country. It would exacerbate economic factors which might force us to devalue the currency, thereby ushering in dangerous inflation.

"Yes," summarized Goldwater, "it's Reuther's year, all right—if and only if conservatives the country over fail to go to the polls and defeat the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. If they do so (as I have so often urged), and Kennedy is defeated, then —in my opinion—Reuther's opportunity will have passed. Thereafter, I would guess that Reuther would decline in power and prestige, certainly in the political field."

But such an outcome hinges on conservatives—warned Goldwater—recognizing the danger and going to the polls to vanquish Walter Reuther's supreme bid for political dominance.

Nixon and the Newsmen: As the 1960 Presidential campaign wound up, one fact seemed obvious—Vice President Nixon, although he enjoyed the editorial support of a majority of America's newspapers, received the roughest going over from newsmen covering him that any Presidential candidate has received within memory.

Both *Newsweek* and *Time*, in rundowns on the attitude toward Nixon, stressed the predominance of Democratic reporters. One veteran correspondent who covered the Vice President's campaign told HUMAN EVENTS: "The antagonism toward Nixon was tremendous, almost fanatical. Out of the usual number of about 75 reporters following the VP's tours, it would be hard to find ten at any given time who were giving Nixon an even break in their dispatches."

The reporter gave as an example the habit most newsmen had of playing down the size of Nixon's crowds. He said that reporters sending in accurate crowd estimates were hooted by the pro-Kennedy scribes.

The reason Nixon cancelled his campaign train press conferences several weeks ago was because of the treatment he received at the final one, in Scranton, Pennsylvania. According to our source, some reporters "were not interested in questioning Nixon but were actually hurling insults at him."

Newsmen frequently badgered the VP, seeking to draw him out on the religious issue. They finally succeeded but with results that they chose not to print in their dispatches: Nixon got mad and

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suggested to the journalists that they might for a change write about the anti-Quaker statements thrown out by Democratic leaders such as Senator Lyndon Johnson and Governor Hodges of North Carolina.

Another indication of press hostility toward the GOP nominee came from Mario Remo, who had been head of the nationalities division of the Democratic National Committee, but who switched to Nixon during the campaign. Remo told HUMAN EVENTS that, when he sat down to eat after boarding Nixon's campaign train in Dayton, "A reporter sitting next to me called me a turncoat and began insulting me."

On the October 18 Three Star Extra news program from Washington, Ray Henle reported: "The Democrats, notably Mr. Truman, often say all the papers are Republican. They omit that in many key cases 80 to 85 per cent of the newsmen who work on those papers are Democrats. Especially in big metropolitan California this gives Kennedy an edge. For example, one of the San Francisco papers editorially is for Nixon, but it has a vast majority of editorial workers, reporters, headline writers, make-up men, re-write men, etc., who are for Kennedy, and, indeed, boldly wear Kennedy buttons while they work.

"One paper recently published a story in its first edition on betting odds, and carried a one column headline which read: 'Betting Odds Favor Nixon.' By the time the last edition went on the streets this headline had mushroomed into an eight column banner line which read: 'Gamblers Favor Nixon.' "

Nixon and Dixie: I. Lee Potter, Director of the GOP's Operation Dixie, and Barry Goldwater have summarized the reasons many Southerners will vote against Kennedy. They include his stands on the following issues:

1. The pledge to repeal all state right-to-work laws.

2. *The pledge to repeal Taft-Hartley.*

3. The pledge to repeal Landrum-Griffin.

4. *The pledge for a Federal FEPC law.*

5. The pledge to severely modify the seniority system for committee chairmanships.

6. *The pledge for compulsory health insurance.*

7. The pledge to implement a farm program which even Henry Wallace can't stomach.

8. *The pledge to carry through a platform that Socialist leader Norman Thomas called more extreme than the platform of his own party.*

Union Spending: As was expected, the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education did some high finance "educating" this year in its efforts to elect Jack Kennedy and a "liberal" Congress.

In its report filed with Congress, COPE said it spent $294,497 during September and the first three weeks of October, bringing its total expenditures during the 1960 campaign to $728,405. Noted is that most of the spending listed in the COPE report had been channeled to the organization's state branches. This means that the report doesn't include the extraordinary sums raised by COPE within individual states and spent on campaigns in those states. Such funds are not required to be reported to Washington.

COPE headquarters sent $35,000 into Iowa, $28,000 into Kansas and $32,000 into Wisconsin. It poured $27,000 into Indiana, where "they're really spending big trying to beat Charlie Halleck," a GOP spokesman stated. Among the smaller states, COPE sent almost $11,000 into Wyoming and $12,500 into Maine. It put $9,000 into Georgia—not to beat the Republicans but to knock off conservative Democrats in the primaries. The West Virginia COPE received $11,000 and $12,000 went into South Dakota.

Noted in South Dakota, for instance, is that Senator Karl Mundt last week reported contributions of $12,838 in his campaign to retain his Senate seat against "liberal" Democrat George S. McGovern. McGovern reported contributions of only $2,500. But none of the $12,000 from COPE is listed as contributed to McGovern, and the funds raised for him by the state COPE won't be reported until after the election.

The Political Action Fund for Dave McDonald's United Steelworkers reported contributing $13,500 to committees for Kennedy and $97,000 in behalf of 107 Democratic congressional candidates.

The steelworkers gave $5,000 to Paul Douglas (COPE gave him its largest single contribution—$10,000) for his Illinois Senate re-election battle, $4,000 to Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, $3,000 to Maurine Neuberger of Oregon (running for her late husband's Senate seat) and $2,000 to Senator Pat McNamara of Michigan—who is also well taken care of by Walter Reuther. Reuther's United Auto Workers said it received $70,228 in campaign contributions this year and spent $40,902.

But aside from the tremendous financial help from unions to Kennedy and "liberal" candidates already down in the books, there is no way to ascertain the amount Reuther and other union bosses have expended in building their vast human machine of salaried campaign workers and paid propagandists in labor's big drive for the White House.

Religious Issue: "Today as always," remarks the *Wanderer,* a national Catholic weekly, "the hate-mongers and smear groups abound everywhere," such as Watchtower Bible and Tract Society operating out of New York. "On the other hand, however, continues the *Wanderer,* "just as it would be folly to minimize the activities of such groups, so too it would be folly to overestimate them or, worse still,

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pretend to see a bigot under every Republican's bed! In an election year, especially, Catholics would be well advised against raising the cry of 'anti-Catholicism' and 'bigotry' too quickly. For one thing, it won't convince nor reform the bigots; for another, it might only whip up and incite to precipitate and ill-advised action an untold number of our own co-religionists."

The Catholic weekly goes on to warn that many who protest bigotry so loudly, now, have not in the past been exactly friendly to the Catholic Church; it points out that "many of the self-same Liberals and Leftists who now rush to our defense" in recent years helped make a national best-seller of "the extremely bigoted Paul Blanshard's infamous book, *American Freedom and Catholic Power.*" Blanshard is a leading member of the New York Liberal party which has endorsed Kennedy.

Where's Johnny? So asked a Boston newspaper headline a number of years ago when John F. Kennedy was nowhere to be found for a key House vote. Official figures from the *Congressional Record* show that the question is still left unanswered, for the Massachusetts Senator has racked up one of the worst absentee records in either House.

In the past regular session of Congress, for instance, Kennedy missed 129 out of 172 roll call votes.

The Kennedy people excuse his absences last year with the explanation that he was out campaigning in the hinterlands for the Democratic nomination. This fails to hold water. While a member of the House, Kennedy missed almost a third of all roll call votes, and throughout his entire Senate career he has missed them with the same frequency.

Contacted by HUMAN EVENTS, Kennedy lieutenants explained that Kennedy has missed many votes because of the pressing business of committee meetings. Examination of the record indicates that this is hardly factual. Although he is a member of the joint Economic Committee, Kennedy has attended only one out of the 55 meetings it has held since March 20, 1959. Kennedy is chairman of the African Affairs subcommittee, but despite the turmoil on the Dark Continent, Kennedy did not call a single meeting of the subcommittee in all of 1960.

Kennedy is also a member of the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee, but an aide to its chairman told the press that since being appointed to the subcommittee in August, 1958, Kennedy has not attended a single meeting of that group.

Another Kennedy committee is the one dealing with the problems of the aged. The committee has been active, holding 20 meetings, including one in Kennedy's home town of Boston. Kennedy missed every meeting.

Capitol Camera: Associated press reports that big highlight of recent Democratic rally in Newark, New Jersey, was the introduction of home town boy Frank Sinatra as the "next Ambassador to Italy."

• *Mario G. Remo, who has been Finance Chairman of the Nationalities Division of the Democratic National Committee, has resigned, saying that Kennedy's foreign policy statements have caused him "extreme alarm." "I'm afraid that if Kennedy should win the Presidency, the US would be embroiled in another war within two years."*

• Harry Truman's Economic Report of 1950 said that the Gross National Product, under Truman plans, would be $300 billion in 1954. Under Eisenhower, it was $320 billion despite a post-Korea recession.

• *Former Ambassador to Cuba Gardner says that Nixon was "the only man" who aided him while in Havana. He says further that Kennedy's policies in Latin America "could easily lead to war."*

• Good news for GOP candidates in farm belt: The index of prices received by farmers rose to the highest point in five months in October. At the same time, farmers' costs dropped below the September figure. Poultry and egg prices are 27 per cent above a year earlier, and the highest since April, 1958. Hog prices at $19.90 averaged 34 per cent above a year earlier and showed a September to October rise for the first time in nine years.

• *The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is expected to drop a bombshell when it publishes its investigation of the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee. So far over 38 members of SANE have been questioned in executive sessions regarding their alleged Communist affiliations.*

• Kennedy disputes GOP claims that food prices would jump under his farm plan. On September 26, Dr. Harrell DeGraff, a leading Cornell University farm economist, prepared an analysis of the Kennedy plan. He estimated to achieve "parity income" as defined by the Democratic nominee would cost $16.9 billion. This would mean a 20 per cent boost in food prices, plus a $12.4 billion government subsidy.

• Kennedy disputes Nixon's assertion that a "little" unemployment is necessary, even desirable. Here is what Harry Truman said in 1950: "Unemployment from three to five million is supportable." Employment total was then 61.6 million, jobless 4.7 million. Today (September's statistics) unemployment is 3.4 million in total labor force of 71.2 million.

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John F. Kennedy: *What's Behind the Image?*

A NEW BOOK on Senator John F. Kennedy charges that, months before the break-up of the summit parley in Paris, the Democratic National Committee had planned to make "the decline of the United States as a first-rate power" as the major "sales pitch" of the 1960 campaign.

At the same time, the book quotes Senator Kennedy—who has elevated American "prestige" abroad into a campaign issue—as having stated in 1957, "There obviously is danger in making international policy on the basis of popularity polls . . ." In the same *Foreign Affairs* article, Kennedy also pointed to the "risks (in) setting policy courses by volatile barometric readings."

Enormously Ambitious

The 300-page book is entitled *John F. Kennedy: What's Behind the Image?* Written by Victor Lasky, it was published on October 31 by the Free World Press, Inc. The book describes the Democratic presidential candidate as an "enigma," an enormously ambitious man who has been on both sides of major issues, sometimes at the same time, and a man whose "only passion is a passion to win." The author states flatly that Senator Kennedy has no commitment to issues. To him, issues are important only as a means of getting votes. And Lasky suggests that "declining American prestige" is such an issue.

Lasky notes that last March the New York *Herald-Tribune*, in a generally-overlooked story from Washington, had disclosed the existence of a "confidential" memorandum being circulated among members of the Democratic National Committee. The memo had detailed plans for the Democrats to spend up to $4 million for television time in the 1960 presidential campaign.

"For Political Gain"

"This probably was the first time in history when hucksters got together to figure ways and means of running down an entire nation—for political gain," the book declares.

The Democratic National Committee memorandum said in part: "Sales pitch (for the campaign) must be creative and boldy innovative, have the element of surprise and novelty, use humor . . .

"Essential theme suggested was the decline of the United States as a first-rate power. Basis of the issue's pitch: lead America back to first-rate status . . .

"There was a debate over the usefulness of the proposed basic theme and over the nature of the copy presented (by the Democratic organizations' advertising and public relations promoters) . . ."

According to Lasky, Senator Kennedy picked up the "sales pitch" with alacrity. Not only was our "prestige" declining abroad, but the Senator had added new dimensions to the theme of the United States' being a second-rate power.

BUT LASKY ASKS, is the Senator's defeatism genuine? For only three years ago Kennedy was singing a different tune. In a Chicago speech on October 9, 1957, Kennedy said: ". . . this is an age of prosperity, an age of abundance. It is an age characterized by full employment, rising wages, rising prices and profits, increased productivity, growing international trade, increased national income, rising standards of living, record levels of production, tremendous gains in research, high demand and consumption, accelerated investment and continued plant expansion."

Lasky says that the absurdity of the "prestige" argument can easily be demonstrated by this quotation:

"In the entire history of the American people it is doubtful that we have ever seen such a rapid sequence of military and political disasters as those we have faced in Asia during the last five years."

Disastrous Truman Era

Though these "frightening words" may sound familiar, they were actually written in 1953 by Chester Bowles, one of Senator Kennedy's principal foreign policy advisers. And, "the last five years" referred, of course, to the Truman era when, Bowles then observed, the US suffered such political and military disasters as the collapse of the Chinese Nationalist Government; the Red take-over of the mainland; the defeat of the French in Indo-China, despite the billions in US aid; and the indecisive war in Korea, because of which "millions of Asians became convinced that American military might was not supreme, despite what they had assumed after our victory over Japan."

Schlesinger's Hokum

In his foreword, Lasky explains that the book constituted his reaction—but not a reply—to Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s *Kennedy or Nixon: Does It Make Any Difference?* Lasky had been asked to comment on the book by *The Saturday Review*, and did so in the October 29, 1960, issue. Lasky said Schlesinger "must have taken leave of his historical senses in producing a book so devoid of scholarship, so replete with pseduo-phychoanalytic hokum, and so lacking—even for campaign propaganda—in taste." Schlesinger is a leading brain-truster for the Democratic candidate.

THE LASKY BOOK, written in less than two weeks, attempts to set the record straight. "The Kennedy record," he wrote, "is a little-known record. It is a record replete with inconsistencies, blunders, evasions and ruthlessness."

Lasky digs into the Kennedy family history for an understanding of "what makes Jack run." And he poses the thesis that "to understand Jack Kennedy you have to understand Joe Kennedy." Joseph P. Kennedy, of course, is the Senator's father, former US Ambassador to Great Britain, former Wall Street promoter—and present "behind-the-scenes political finagler."

Joe Kennedy's Role

Kennedy's father is described as the dominating, driving, directive force in the family. He had imbued his children with the urge to win, and to win at any price. The father, himself, once had ambitions to be President, and when these failed he groomed Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., to carry out this driving ambition. Young Joe died during the war, and Old Joe decided that his second son, Jack, should go into politics. Lasky quotes the father as having said in 1957:

Pushed Into Congress

"I got Jack into politics. I was the one. I told him Joe was dead and therefore it was his responsibility to run for Congress. He didn't want to. He felt he didn't have the ability and he still feels that way. But I told him he had to."

The curious influence that the father still exerts on his son is analyzed in detail. And the son's remarkable "ability to straddle" major issues of our times is also gone into. Reported in depth is Senator Kennedy's failure to "come clean" on the issue of "McCarthyism" and his late conversion to the cause of "civil rights."

Newsday Story Falls

HUMAN EVENTS sent its assistant editor, Nicholas T. Nonnenmacher, to Paterson, New Jersey, to see Father Juniper B. Carol, particularly about a story in *Newsday*. That Long Island paper printed a piece on October 31, headlined: "Anti-Kennedy Tract Disowned by Priest." The "Anti-Kennedy Tract" is the article, "Kennedy for President? A Catholic Priest Says No," by the Rev. J. B. Carol.

Father Carol told Nonnenmacher: "The October 31 headline story in *Newsday* relative to my HUMAN EVENTS article is false insofar as the charge that I disown it. I did not give *Newsday* any statement for publication. Neither did I claim that HUMAN EVENTS had distorted my views."

HONORABLE RICHARD H. POFF, Republican member of Congress from Virginia: "HUMAN EVENTS, in a courageous way, expresses a viewpoint which only too few are willing to defend in this age of timid conformity."

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Vol. XVII, No. 45 — Section III

HUMAN EVENTS

November 10, 1960

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Attend Political Action Conference
January 6-7, 1961

HUMAN EVENTS will hold a Political Action Conference at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C. next January 6 and 7. The newly elected Congress will be holding its opening sessions. The new President will be awaiting the inauguration.

Leading Senators, Representatives, and noted Washington correspondents—those pictured above and others whose acceptances are dependent upon the results of the election—will be Conference speakers. They will appraise the consequences of the election. In the seminar discussions, they will tell you what you can do back home to promote sound legislation and defeat unsound legislation.

The pressures for inflationary spending programs have been growing. The demagogs and the con men have been promising a Santa Claus government. The egghead Americans for Democratic Action and COPE, the political arm of the AFL-CIO, are working for the creation of a centralized all-powerful Federal Government, the blueprint for socialism.

Inflation is the secret weapon of the Communists. Lenin taught that the erosion of the currency is the way to reduce to helpless dependency the self-reliant, thrifty classes who are the natural enemies of the Communist revolution.

The undisguised warfare against the people by the forces behind the Big Spend, Big Tax, Big Government programs will come out into the open when the new Congress convenes next January.

HUMAN EVENTS aims to rally together in Washington those who believe in limited constitutional government, states' rights, private enterprise and individual freedom.

On your calendar, mark those dates, Friday and Saturday, January 6 and 7. Plan to attend. Fee: $75. For additional members of the same family, $45.

This Conference comes as the Convention Season is beginning in Washington; therefore only 100 hotel rooms can be obtained. First come, first served. MAIL YOUR RESERVATION IMMEDIATELY.

HUMAN EVENTS 410 First Street, S. E. Washington 3, D. C.

I wish to make my reservation for the HUMAN EVENTS POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE to be held on January 6 and 7 at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C., at the specified fee of $75 for myself, and $45 for each additional member of my family. Fee for attendance at all sessions includes the two lunches and the two dinners (Friday and Saturday). Hotel accommodations and breakfasts, extra. Rooms at the Willard Hotel are priced at: Singles, $10 and up, Doubles, $17 and up.

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Human Events LABOR LETTER

Coming Soon . . .

LABOR LETTER

The labor news coverage which HUMAN EVENTS has been providing will soon be published in a separate 2-page section called the HUMAN EVENTS LABOR LETTER. *This new section will be included as a part of your regular subscription.* Being printed as a separate section, you can pass it on, after you have read it, to somebody else especially interested in the subject of labor.

To those who recognize the nature of the struggle ahead, the subject of LABOR has become all-important.

In 1943, the CIO set up a Political Action Committee which became well known by its initials: CIO-PAC. Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, became its directing chief. In 1944, FDR told those who wanted to discuss with him the choice of his running mate: "Clear it with Sidney." After the AFL-CIO merger, the two organizations created COPE, the Committee on Political Education. Walter Reuther is its chairman.

Reuther has boasted that he did not become a labor leader solely for the purpose of negotiating "a nickel or a dime an hour more" for his members. He seeks such gains, of course, but to Reuther, they are the means of winning member-support for his true objective: "to make America over."

The first step in "making America over," according to Reuther and his "liberal" comrades in the ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), is to centralize governmental power in Washington. It will be easier for the AFL-CIO to dominate a single governmental unit—the Federal Government—than to dominate 50 state governments, some of which are "backward" regions where voters are skeptical of the professed idealism of the Labor Bosses and the ADA "liberals."

After centralization, the succeeding sequence of events can be forseen.

State governments, city governments and school boards will become merely the decentralized administrative agents for the Federal government, which will lay down the Nation's policies. State and local officials will come hat-in-hand to Washington to plead for projects wanted by their states and communities. Those coming from regions which cast a big vote in the previous election for the Party of Centralized Government will be received with far more cordiality than those coming from less docile areas.

The Washington bureaucracy will decide what the people ought to want and will allocate the Nation's output—the people's income—as they in their superior wisdom deem "good for the masses."

The LABOR LETTER will keep you informed week by week of the News of Labor.

IN MAKING UP YOUR CHRISTMAS GIFT LIST, REMEMBER THE KEEN INTEREST THE LABOR LETTER WILL GENERATE AMONG YOUR FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES AND AMONG CIVIC LEADERS. SEND GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THOSE WHO WILL HELP CREATE A COUNTER-FORCE TO THE LABOR BOSSES. MAKE UP YOUR CHRISTMAS LIST TODAY. MAIL IT IMMEDIATELY.

"All that is necessary for the forces of evil to win in the world is for enough good men to do nothing."
—EDMUND BURKE.

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What You Can Do

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What You Can Do

Beginning with the first issue after Christmas (the second issue received by those to whom you send Christmas gift subscriptions), HUMAN EVENTS will publish a Special Section entitled WHAT YOU CAN DO.

People at the grass roots—where the votes come from—can have tremendous influence upon pending legislation if they only know what to do.

Example: The Congress of the past two years was two-thirds Democratic. Nevertheless, when the Landrum-Griffin labor-reform measure came up, Congressmen who owed their election to the Labor Bosses were forced by a mobilized public opinion to vote in favor of Landrum-Griffin.

The New Section will be printed for 30 to 35 weeks each year—the weeks Congress is in session—plus a summary report during the two weeks following Congressional adjournment.

The New Section, which will usually be two pages, will tell you WHAT YOU CAN DO to help pass sound legislation and defeat bad legislation. The Section will concentrate its fire; it will limit its coverage to roughly the fifteen most important bills before each House.

For each of the fifteen most crucial legislative proposals you will get:

1. A brief description of its contents and a statement of its long-term consequences.
2. The arguments to use in writing your Congressman.
3. WHEN to do your letter-writing for or against each bill.
4. Whom to write to—in addition to your own two Senators and your Representative. The more hard-working of the members of the Congressional Committees to which bills are referred become authorities in their fields. Other Congressmen look to them for guidance. Committee members are especially receptive to letters presenting factual material, especially case histories describing what the consequences of legislation have been or might be.

As proposals are voted upon, the New Section will publish the voting record. The KEY vote on a bill is not always the vote "on final passage." On the contrary, it may be on a technicality, a parliamentary motion. The Labor Lobby knows which is the decisive vote and they put all of their pressure to get a majority on that vital rollcall. Once that rollcall indicates the ultimate fate of the measure, the vote "on final passage" may be a mere formality. The KEY rollcall may show either a bigger majority than is necessary or it may show that the fight has been hopelessly lost. When one or the other of these possibilities looms, the Labor Bosses pass the word to liberal-labor members representing marginal districts that they can, if they feel it necessary, reverse themselves in order to fool enough voters back home to insure their re-election.

After you see how your Congressmen vote, you and your friends should write a letter of either approval or disapproval. From experience, Congressmen tend to believe that only the labor crowd watches how they vote.

A common Congressional remark is: "What's the use of pleasing conservatives? They never thank us when we vote their way; in fact, most of them don't even KNOW HOW WE VOTE."

The Section on WHAT YOU CAN DO will be a *part of your regular subscription.* However, it can also be purchased separately in quantities so you can distribute copies to members of civic and patriotic organizations and to others you think will DO SOMETHING about Congressional voting. Your bulk order will be mailed to you by First Class mail each Friday night. In most parts of the United States, you should receive it on Monday or Tuesday morning. You can enter a single order for the quantity you want and for the entire 30-to-35-week Congressional session.

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100 Subscriptions to a single address:	$175.00	(Each additional	$1.75)

In making up your Christmas gift list think of your friends all over the United States who may be potential leaders in the FIGHT FOR FREEDOM.

You can MULTIPLY YOURSELF by sending HUMAN EVENTS to MILITANTS who are eager to wage a winning war against the "giveaway liberals" who want to use the people's money to buy their way into power.

The Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) plans to set up a political action organization in every county in the United States—cooperating with this HUMAN EVENTS program.

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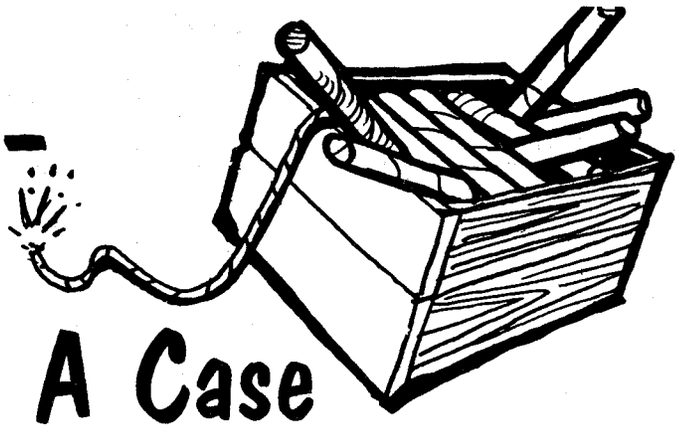

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Vol. XVII, No. 45 — Section IV HUMAN EVENTS November 10, 1960

New York City and National Trends

THE LIBRARY
WISCONSIN STATE COLLEGE
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By Raymond Moley

November 2—My purpose in this article is to present the unique character of New York City and the reason why opinion here cannot be regarded as a national trend. I have been a resident of this City of New York during half my life and have had a somewhat unusual opportunity to understand its ways and conditions.

Its capacity to influence rather than to create opinion over the nation is very great. It is the nation's major center for the dissemination of news. It is the home of the vastly important publishing enterprises. It is the headquarters of the big air networks. It is the nation's financial center, which of itself is a vast disseminator of news and opinion. It is a major educational center, and in the teaching of teachers, it is in first place. Washington, the capital, cannot match these immense advantages.

The atmosphere in New York in which these opinion-forming agencies operate is soggy with "liberal" Democratic preferences and with decidedly left-wing thought. That is true even in publications which are headed by conservative individuals. For the working press is largely "liberal" or even radical. After 27 years in journalism I ought to know that.

The population of New York is, in enormous proportions, favorable to an extreme welfare Federal state. Tammany, in fact, originated the concept of winning votes by favors from government. Every district leader maintains a small welfare state, with voters bought by handouts. The labor unions which center here are in the extreme left wing of the labor movement.

The Republican organization in four of the five boroughs lives off the crumbs of the Democratic party. This is because the Democratic organization must keep the Republican organization alive or it would itself split up into several rival parties. Republican leaders in almost every assembly district are complacently habituated to defeat and are enjoying a sort of happiness in being underdogs.

There are 700,000 immigrants from Puerto Rico here who are managed and controlled by politicians of the breed of the late Vito Marcantonio.

Adam Clayton Powell, Congressman and minister of the Gospel, is practically the dictator of Harlem's vast population.

Among that part of the population in the higher brackets, what I have called "Park Avenue Republicanism" prevails. From their economically secure eminence they like to be known as "liberal." Nelson Rockefeller is their idol, and when he was running for governor his view varied in no important respect from those of that other inheritor of great wealth, Averell Harriman. In the once famous "silk stocking" Seventeenth District, the Republican incumbent Congressman is talking exactly the same language as his Liberal-Democratic opponent. Governor Rockefeller has been making only a token campaign for Nixon. Other Republican candidates never mention Nixon-Lodge.

Questions for Kennedy

From the New York Daily News

We're not in a recession, says Democratic Presidential candidate John F. Kennedy, but we're in danger of one.

Here are some questions for Senator Kennedy and various other Democrats who own or control great wealth:

Do you gentlemen believe your gloom-and-doom talk to the extent of selling large blocks of stock? Could you by chance be selling to drive the stock market down? Or are you sitting on your holdings because you don't believe your own predictions of recession and depression?

Rumors and gossip under this head are flying around rather thickly as the Presidential campaign nears its end.

We think all Democratic leaders to whom the above questions apply owe it to the voters to come up with some straight answers and explanations. Among such big shots are Senator Kennedy, Joseph P. Kennedy, Walter Reuther, and David Dubinsky. Others could be mentioned. Let's have some replies —but fast.

• In the last few days, two alleged Soviet spies have been nailed in the United States, and one bigwig in West Germany's Socialist Party has been caught passing top-secret documents to a couple of Communist agents.

Among various other things we hope Democratic Presidential hopeful John F. Kennedy will tell the voters is whether he thinks Khrushchev should apologize to Eisenhower and Adenauer for these agents of his, as Kennedy thinks Eisenhower should have apologized to Khrushchev for the U-2 spy-plane incident last May.

"The taste a man shows for absolute government bears an exact ratio to the contempt he professes for his countrymen."

—DE TOCQUEVILLE

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Labor Forces In Politics

By Victor Riesel

October 31—In this state, which the political philosophers believe has the make or break presidential votes, Jack Kennedy's newest field marshals will fight to the last moment with the last hot dog, pizza pie, knish, bagel and frijole. Those strategists are the labor leaders—mostly peppery little David Dubinsky, the Garment Union leader.

A month ago Dubinsky told me he had told Kennedy there would be over a quarter of a million people in the city's rag jungle for the "new Roosevelt" just as there were for the "old one." Two weeks ago Dubinsky delivered the campaign's biggest rally, for JFK as he had for FDR.

I recall sitting with Roosevelt and Dubinsky in the White House exactly 16 years ago. Dubinsky was listing a series of meetings right through November 4 saying, "Let's not take the state for granted." Franklin Roosevelt replied, "Fine, but give me one full day off; there's a war on."

Once again Dubinsky and his colleagues are among the few who haven't publicly taken the state for granted. When they heard that President Eisenhower and Richard Nixon were flying in for a shopping center super market type blitz of handshaking and hot dog and bagel eating, they called up their own reserves—mostly a chap retired on a government pension by the name of Harry S. Truman.

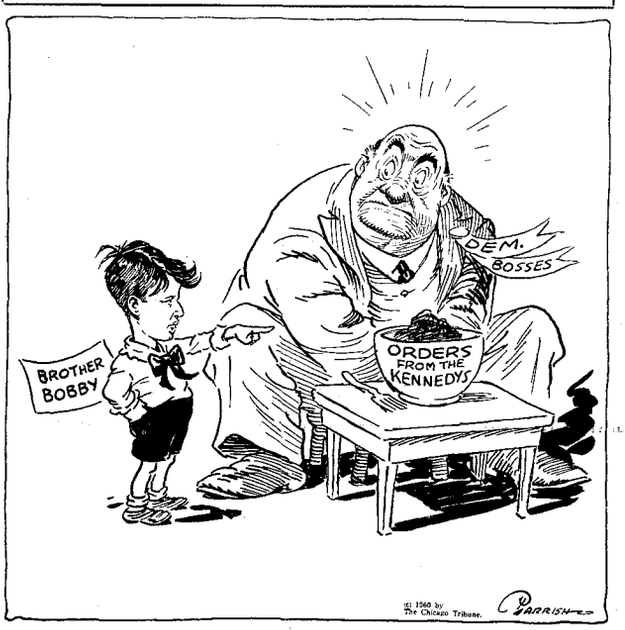
HST sent word he'd be delighted to blitz, too, for "young Kennedy" about the same time one of his former officers, Dwight D. Eisenhower, hits the big town.

There's the difference between the Democratic-Labor operation and the Republican leadership in this campaign. Truman and Kennedy fought early and patched it up. Governor Rockefeller and Nixon fought early—and it was patched up with an agreement that neither the Vice President nor his own strategists would have any authority over the campaign in New York State. They were, in effect, told to stay out except for Nixon's speeches.

To Harry Truman the party is the party and so are the state's 45 electoral votes. Of course, he said, he'd try to join Dubinsky, AFL-CIO City Labor Council leader Harry Van Arsdale and Amalgamated Clothing Workers president Jack Potofsky in leading a march of elderly citizens into a Union Square demonstration.

There was another problem—ballot day apathy in some circles which just could be the balance of power. It's one thing to come out en masse to hear the candidate amid the toppling of police horses, wooden and live, in the "market." But there were the thousands on thousands of militant oldtimers and those in their forties and fifties, too, who were still saying they'd never vote Republican

'EAT YOUR SPINACH!'



but this time they just weren't going to vote Democratic either. They needed the old symbols of FDR and HST.

Certainly, said Truman, he'd go into the lower East Side where thousands of voters were silently deciding to stay at home Election Day. So the ex-President was booked into a tour and a school meeting. Note that school location well.

It's in the old Al Smith area. On one side now are a block of "project" buildings erected by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Behind the school are towering modern apartments also raised by union funds and named after B. C. Vladeck, one of the East Side's great heroes. At the other side are four Ladies Garment Workers buildings—built in memory of two former union presidents and two Polish labor leaders executed on Stalin's orders in the Forties.

Truman's plans were to walk among what literally can be called "the swirling masses"—old timers; veterans of the 1910 garment strike; those who remember the ghastly 1911 Triangle fire, from the embers of which rose the New Deal of FDR; old families who have been living there since they migrated from Ireland, England and Germany as the century turned and new ones from Puerto Rico.

It was more than the windup of the "old" campaign. It was the beginning of the new thrust—this time to topple, if they can, another formidable Republican. Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller will be running again in 1962. Labor's field marshals are fond of him. But only between elections. In a campaign, to them a Republican is a Republican.

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Kennedy Helped Block Anti-Red Legislation

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

November 1—Senator John Kennedy's campaign pronouncements against Communism and its sympathizers are loud and convincing, but the record shows that he was partly responsible for the present unrestrained traffic of American Reds and fellow-travelers to Europe's Iron Curtain countries.

The story began on June 16, 1958, when the Supreme Court overruled the right of the State Department to refuse passports to known Communists and other security risks on the grounds that their intended travels were inimical to the best interests of the United States.

The State Department immediately asked Congress for remedial legislation. Roderic O'Connor, then administrator of the Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, warned the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the Court ruling would result in a flood of traitor-travel from this country to key Communist operations throughout Eastern Europe.

President Eisenhower asked for legislation and scores of bills—any one of which was acceptable to the Administration—were tossed into the hopper. Eisenhower spokesmen, noting that even the 368 security risks had applied for and received passports (the number has greatly increased since), urged immediate emergency passage. The House complied within two months after the Court decision.

In the Senate, all bills were referred to Senator William Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee of which Senator Kennedy is a key member. The Committee's Democratic majority, however, refused to act and postponed consideration until January of 1959.

At that time, President Eisenhower again asked for action. FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover testified that the Communist Party "has lost no time in capitalizing upon the ease with which passports may now be obtained . . . a steady stream of party people have applied for and received passports for travel to the Soviet Union."

Senator Kennedy was in charge of the legislation in Committee. The State Department begged him and Chairman Fulbright to clear a bill, but to no avail. The whole question was postponed again in 1960, only to be confronted with the same roadblock.

Under these circumstances, Senators Tom Dodd of Connecticut and Kenneth Keating of New York, sponsored a new bill. This was referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee, which promptly approved it and sent it to the Senate floor for consideration.

The bill went on the Senate calendar and was pending there during the special session. Senator Kennedy, however, as the Democratic Presidential nominee, was calling all shots for that session and in spite of all importunings by Senators Dodd and Keating, refused to have the legislation brought up for action. Keating charges angrily that Kennedy is solely responsible for the impasse and for the lack of legislation on the books at present.

The passport problem was spotlighted recently when Dr. Maurice Halperin turned up at the US Embassy in Moscow with his wife and asked for extensions of their passports. The Embassy had to comply.

Halperin, chief of the Latin American section of the Office of Strategic Services during World War II, was fired in 1954 from a teaching position at Boston University for refusing to deny membership in the Communist Party. Senate Committee investigators had turned up evidence linking him with a Soviet spy ring.

Halperin told the Moscow Embassy officials that he now is working for the Soviet Academy of Sciences, reportedly as an advisor on Latin America and Fidel Castro's Cuba.

Halperin is only one of a host of Communists and party-liners who have received passports. Another case was that of James J. Jackson, a member of the Communist Party's executive committee. He received a passport to travel to France, went behind the Iron Curtain and conferred with top Soviet leaders, and attended the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Upon his return he was questioned by a Senate investigating committee and took the Fifth Amendment 88 times on inquiries about his Communist activities abroad.

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Party Building: Nixon's Lonely Battle

From the Wall Street Journal

October 28—There are now just 10 more working days in this campaign. And tonight President Eisenhower is going to make a speech for the Republican party.

Somehow in this announcement there is distilled a sad summation of almost all that ails the beleaguered Republican Party in this campaign.

These columns have from time to time been critical of the way the present Republican candidate has waged his campaign. But it would be grossly unfair to lay upon Mr. Nixon's weary shoulders all of the failings of his party. Most of them lie elsewhere, and many of them lie in the White House itself.

Wasted Opportunity

They have wasted eight full years when they had a magnificent opportunity to rebuild their party as a political organization, to give it vitality and purpose, and to make it stand for something good and meaningful. Indeed, it can almost be said that if Mr. Nixon loses he will be as much victim as culprit, and if he wins he will have done it almost alone.

Consider, for a moment, the opportunity that stretched before this political party eight years ago. It came into office at a time when the people were worn out with 20 years of the opposition party and disillusioned with the tattered catch-phrases of Fair Deal liberalism. It came to office under one of the most popular figures of the century; not even FDR projected his image across so wide a span of the population.

If ever there was a man who had it within the reach of his hand to breath life into a political party it was Dwight Eisenhower. And Mr. Eisenhower, mistake it not, had life-giving political ideas to offer.

Best Governed Era

After one has acknowledged all the slips and strains to which governments are heir to, it would be hard to find a period in American history when the country was better governed. It has been steered safely through some of its most perlious years, and its people have meanwhile passed these years more prosperous than any people anywhere.

And this was not happenstance. From the beginning Mr. Eisenhower proved what could be done to unleash a nation's energy by wiping out, in one swift stroke, the controls over the nation's economy, by cutting even a few billions out of the budget and returning that money to the people in tax cuts. The social and economic record to which Mr. Nixon points with pride was compiled through two Administrations that sought to widen the area of local and individual action, not narrow it.

Surely here was raw material not only to rebuild a party organization but to forge a political standard to which wise men could repair and which could catch the imagination of independent voters, particularly young people. Here was a chance to give political fire to a body of doctrine essentially conservative in outlook, for here was a demonstration that sound principles are sound practice.

Formidable Task

What is the case? The Republican Party organization at the start of this campaign was a shabby thing; it has not been easy for Mr. Nixon to rebuild it in a few months' time. But more importantly, the essence of Mr. Eisenhower's program—the thing in which he deeply believed and proved to be true—have been given no dramatic garments to be put before the people.

For this there are many causes. There have been few Republicans, anywhere, speaking up proudly for this record; in fact some of them, like Governor Rockefeller, have gone about as if they were ashamed of it. And almost none of them have been willing to do the kind of dull, patient, slogging work which is essential to project any political program across the country, the kind of work that comes so naturally to the Democrats and their labor union allies.

Party Head Must Lead

But surely, in the end, much of the fault must lie with the man who has been the party's leader. Unfortunately, Mr. Eisenhower, for all his wisdom in other matters, never fully grasped the fact that in politics, as in war, a just cause still needs strong battalions.

There are many things which influence an election, of which this is only one. Mr. Eisenhower in his two terms has given his country a priceless commodity, good government, and this is a saleable commodity which the majority of the voters may already have bought.

But among Mr. Nixon's impediments in this campaign is that for far too long he has been left to go before the country and sell it almost alone.

The Trouble With West Virginia...

By Holmes Alexander

Charleston, W. Va., Nov. 2—"The trouble with West Virginia is . . ."

The hill people don't care much for this sort of patronizing analysis, but a native son can claim some indulgence—especially since the subject bears heavily upon the national election.

The thing that West Virginia needs is not more socialism, but more capitalism. The State would profit by the election of Richard Nixon and would suffer from the election of John Kennedy. The capitalistic tonic of the Republicans, even though adulterated with moderate doses of Federal intervention, is good medicine. The socialistic snake oil of the Democrats, even though sugared with assurances to Wall Street, is slow poison. The trouble with West Virginia—and with most of the country—is that so many Americans have accepted the common superstitions about capitalism.

Capitalism Isn't At Fault

Capitalism in this State, as elsewhere, has made a lot of people rich, but it has not made anybody poor. The mountain farmers, herdsmen and hunters were always poor. Their nutrition, housing and clothing in the pioneers days, as amply documented by historians and depicted by realistic novelists, were miserable. Medical care and schooling were catch-as-catch-can. Not until industrialization did the people in the mass acquire the purchasing power to improve their lot.

Franklin Roosevelt's attempt to redistribute the wealth by Federal intervention has been a lasting failure, as any visitor here in West Virginia can see.

The trouble with West Virginia—and with the country—is the folklore of foolishness which is concocted by the few for the delusion of the many. A man who advocated free love, who got publicity by declining to accept his hereditary title, who today preaches Western nuclear disarmament in the face of Communists vows to destroy us, has written this:

Industrial Revolution Blamed

"The industrial revolution caused unspeakable misery both in England and America . . . the average happiness in England in the early 19th century was lower than it had been a hundred years earlier; and this was almost entirely due to scientific technique."

[Bertrand Russell]

Henry Hazlitt and others have proved the falsity of this oft-told myth. The peasants flocked to the cities to get factory jobs because despite low pay and overcrowded housing, they liked what they got better than what they left.

Capitalism is divided and abandoned, even by intellectual millionaires like Kennedy. This is the trouble with West Virginia.

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Vol. XVII, No. 45 — Section IV

HUMAN EVENTS

November 10, 1960

Rating Your Members of Congress

Who Are the Conservatives; Who Are the Liberals?

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On succeeding pages is the voting record issued by the Committee on Political Education for the 1960 campaign. COPE is the political arm of the AFL-CIO. Its voting record was circulated by the tens of millions.

HUMAN EVENTS has taken the liberty of classifying as "Conservative" the votes that COPE classified as "Wrong" and as "Liberal" the votes that COPE classified as "Right."

COPE, whose chairman is Walter P. Reuther, judges a member of Congress by his willingness to vote in favor of all bills promoting Big Spending, Big Labor and Big Government. COPE wants a still larger part of the people's income turned over to the government for allocation.

COPE reported on the votes cast during the 86th Congress (1959-60) and also for the 80th to 86th Congresses (1947-60). Omitted from the 1947-60 report were members who did not serve in the 1959-60 sessions.

The report shows that there is a sharp distinction between Republican members of Congress and Democrats—and, above all, Northern Democrats.

Considering only the 1959-60 sessions in the Senate, the composite average for all Republicans is 77 per cent Conservative. Southern Democrats averaged 69 per cent Conservative, Northern Democrats 17 per cent, all Democrats 35 per cent.

The combined average of all members of the Senate was 50.1 per cent Conservative.

In the House of Representatives, the composite Conservative averages were:

All Republicans 78%
Southern Democrats 71%
Northern Democrats 5%

The composite Conservative average for all members of the House was 46 per cent.

The 1947-60 averages—as shown below—are not substantially different.

The House contains 24 Republicans and 18 Democrats (all Southern) rated by COPE as 100 per cent Conservative. There was not a single crucial vote on which they voted as COPE wished.

The Republicans were: Rhodes, Ariz.; Jackson, Smith and Utt, Calif.; Cramer, Fla.; Budge, Idaho; Hoffman and Mason, Ill.; Jensen, Iowa; Smith, Kans.; Hoffman, Johansen and Meader, Mich.; Kilburn and Taber, N. Y.; Jonas, N. C.; Short, N. D.; Bow, Hess and Minshall, Ohio; Berry, S. D.; Alger, Texas; and Broyhill and Poff, Va.

The Southern Democrats were: Norrell, Ark.; Haley, Fla.; Davis, Ga.; McSween, La.; Colmer, Williams and Winstead, Miss.; Ashmore, Dorn and McMillan, S. C.; Murray, Tenn.; Dowdy, Texas; and Abbitt, Downing, Gary, Harrison, Smith and Tuck, Va.

Voting 100 per cent "Liberal," as COPE wished, were NO Republican members of the House, but 150 Democrats, all from outside the South.

Of the 150-Do-Nothing Democrats who were completely subservient—100 per cent Liberal—to COPE, 48 were from big cities—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Detroit, Boston, San Francisco, Pittsburgh and Milwaukee.

In the Senate, 13 Republicans and 8 Democrats got a 100 per cent Conservative rating in the COPE 1959-60 report.

The Republicans were: Goldwater, Ariz.; Williams, Del.; Dworshak, Idaho; Carlson and Schoeppel, Kans.; Butler, Md.; Saltonstall, Mass.; Curtis and Hruska, Nebr.; Bridges and Cotton, N. H.; and Brunsdale and Young, N. D.

The Democrats were: McClellan, Ark.; Smathers, Fla.; Russell, Ga.; Eastland and Stennis, Miss.; Thurmond, S. C.; and Byrd and Robertson, Va.

Getting 100 per cent Liberal ratings—meaning that they voted exactly as COPE wished—were NO Republican Senators and 21 Democrats.

The Democrats (all outside the South) were: Engle, Calif.; Carroll, Colo.; Long, Hawaii; Douglas, Ill.; Muskie, Maine; Kennedy, Mass.; Hart and McNamara, Mich.; Humphrey and McCarthy, Minn.; Hennings and Symington, Mo.; Williams, N. J.; Young, Ohio; Lusk and Morse, Oreg.; Clark, Penna.; Pastore, R. I.; Jackson and Magnuson, Wash.; and Proxmire, Wisc.

Congressional Box Score

Summary of "How Your Senators and Representatives Voted 1959-1960," published by the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education:

Legislators by Categories	86th Congress 1959-1960			80th to 86th Congresses 1947-1960		
	Cons.	Lib.	Cons. %	Cons.	Lib.	Cons. %
Senate						
Northern Democrats	63	315	17	155	1028	13
Southern Democrats	143	63	69	434	410	51
All Democrats	206	378	35	589	1438	29
Republicans	247	73	77	909	345	72
All Senators	453	451	50.1	1498	1783	46
House of Representatives						
Northern Democrats	86	1695	5	346	4383	7
Southern Democrats	663	268	71	2014	1320	60
All Democrats	749	1963	28	2360	5703	29
Republicans	1169	326	78	3438	1208	74
All Representatives	1918	2289	46	5798	6911	46

IMPORTANT! The portion of the table at the right does not include data pertaining to Senators and Representatives who served in the 80th to 85th Congresses, unless they were also serving in the 86th Congress at the time it recessed for the national conventions.

Republicans are listed in CAPITAL LETTERS and Democrats in small letters in tables on the following pages.

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VOTING RECORD—HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

	86th Congress			80th to 86th Congresses		
	Conservative	Liberal	Conservative Percentage	Conservative	Liberal	Conservative Percentage
ALABAMA						
Boykin	5	2	71	21	11	66
Grant	6	2	75	26	10	72
Andrews	6	3	67	24	17	59
Roberts	4	6	40	19	23	45
Rains	3	7	30	9	30	23
Selden	7	3	30	18	17	51
Elliott	3	5	38	7	30	19
Jones	3	7	30	8	34	19
Huddleston	5	5	50	11	17	39
ALASKA						
Rivers	0	10	0	0	10	0
ARIZONA						
RHODES	10	0	100	28	6	82
Udall	0	10	0	1	27	4
ARKANSAS						
Gathings	9	1	90	31	11	74
Mills	6	4	60	23	19	55
Trimble	3	7	30	12	30	29
Harris	7	3	70	22	18	55
Alford	5	4	56	5	4	56
Norrell	10	0	100	29	13	69
CALIF.-L.A.						
McDONOUGH	9	1	90	35	7	83
JACKSON	10	0	100	38	3	93
HOSMER	7	3	70	25	10	71
SMITH	10	0	100	21	2	91
HIESTAND	9	1	90	34	1	97
HOLT	8	2	80	29	6	83
LIPSCOMB	9	1	90	26	5	84
King	0	10	0	2	40	5
Holifield	0	10	0	2	40	5
Doyle	0	10	0	2	37	5
Kasem	0	10	0	0	10	0
Roosevelt	0	10	0	0	28	0
CALIF.-Outside L.A.						
MAILLIARD	5	5	50	16	18	47
BALDWIN	3	7	30	8	20	29
YOUNGER	9	1	90	29	5	85
GUBSER	8	2	80	23	11	68
TEAGUE	9	1	90	23	5	82
UTT	10	0	100	34	0	100
WILSON	9	1	90	25	5	83
C. Miller	0	10	0	0	10	0
Johnson	0	10	0	0	10	0
Moss	0	10	0	0	35	0
Shelley	0	10	0	1	36	3
Cohelan	0	10	0	0	10	0
G. Miller	0	10	0	1	40	2
McFall	0	10	0	0	23	0
Sisk	0	10	0	1	27	4
Hagen	2	8	20	4	31	11
Sheppard	1	8	11	6	34	15
Saund	0	10	0	1	22	4
COLORADO						
CHENOWETH	7	3	70	25	12	68
Rogers	0	10	0	1	35	3
Johnson	0	10	0	0	10	0
Aspinall	1	9	10	3	37	8
CONNECTICUT						
Daddario	0	10	0	0	10	0
Bowles	0	10	0	0	10	0
Giaimo	0	10	0	0	10	0
Irwin	0	10	0	0	10	0
Monagan	0	10	0	0	10	0
Kowalski	0	9	0	0	9	0
DELAWARE						
McDowell	0	10	0	1	14	7
FLORIDA						
CRAMER	10	0	100	24	2	92
Bennett	9	1	90	23	18	56
Sikes	6	4	60	21	21	50
Fascell	4	6	40	12	16	43
Herlong	9	1	90	29	12	70
Rogers	9	1	90	20	8	71
Haley	10	0	100	27	5	84
Matthews	7	3	70	18	17	51
GEORGIA						
Preston	6	4	60	24	17	59
Pilcher	6	4	60	16	18	47
Forrester	9	1	90	25	10	71
Flynt	9	1	90	22	5	81
Davis	10	0	100	33	8	80
Vinson	6	3	67	23	16	59
Mitchell	3	6	33	7	6	54
Blitch	7	2	78	16	10	62
Landrum	8	1	89	22	12	65
Brown	6	4	60	23	19	55
HAWAII						
Inouye	0	7	0	0	7	0
IDAHO						
BUDGE	10	0	100	34	2	94
Pfost	0	10	0	2	33	6
ILLINOIS - Chicago						
DERWINSKI	9	1	90	9	1	90
COLLIER	8	2	80	19	4	83
CHURCH	9	1	90	30	6	83
Dawson	0	10	0	1	38	3
O'Hara	0	10	0	2	38	5
Murphy	0	10	0	0	10	0
Kluczynski	0	10	0	0	36	0
O'Brien	0	10	0	1	41	2
Libonati	0	10	0	1	13	7
Rostenkowski	0	10	0	0	10	0
Yates	0	10	0	3	38	7
Pucinski	0	10	0	0	10	0
ILLINOIS - Outside Chicago						
HOFFMAN	10	0	100	10	0	100
MASON	9	0	100	36	0	100
ALLEN	9	1	90	38	3	93
ARENDS	9	1	90	35	6	85
MICHEL	9	1	90	19	4	83
CHIPERFIELD	9	1	90	37	5	88
SIMPSON	9	1	90	9	1	90
SPRINGER	9	1	90	27	7	79
Mack	0	10	0	0	41	0
Shipley	0	10	0	0	10	0
Price	0	10	0	0	42	0
Gray	0	10	0	4	24	14
INDIANA						
HALLECK	9	1	90	35	5	88
ADAIR	8	2	80	32	4	89
BRAY	7	3	70	24	11	69
Madden	0	10	0	2	40	5
Brademas	0	10	0	0	10	0
Roush	0	10	0	0	10	0
Wampler	0	10	0	0	10	0
Denton	0	10	0	4	30	12
Hogan	0	10	0	0	10	0
Harmon	1	8	11	1	8	11
Barr	1	9	10	1	9	10
IOWA						
SCHWENGEL	7	3	70	15	13	54
GROSS	9	1	90	30	11	73
KYL	5	2	71	5	2	71
JENSEN	10	0	100	39	3	93
HOEVEN	9	1	90	31	9	78
Wolf	0	10	0	0	10	0
Smith	0	10	0	0	10	0
Coad	0	10	0	1	22	4
KANSAS						
AVERY	9	1	90	17	9	65
REES	9	1	90	38	4	90
SMITH	10	0	100	39	2	95
George	0	10	0	0	10	0
Hargis	0	10	0	0	10	0
Breeding	1	9	10	2	20	9
KENTUCKY						
SILER	7	3	70	21	7	75
Stubblefield	3	7	30	3	7	30
Natcher	2	8	20	8	23	26
Burke	0	10	0	0	10	0
Chelf	4	3	57	15	24	38
Spence	3	7	30	8	33	20
Watts	3	7	30	12	34	26
Perkins	1	9	10	4	36	10
LOUISIANA						
Hebert	6	3	67	25	16	61
Boggs	3	7	30	15	27	36
Willis	6	3	67	22	17	56
Brooks	9	1	90	24	15	62
Passman	8	2	80	25	14	64
Morrison	3	6	33	13	24	35
Thompson	4	5	44	13	16	45
McSween	10	0	100	10	0	100
MAINE						
McINTIRE	9	1	90	29	7	81
Oliver	0	10	0	0	10	0
Coffin	1	9	10	1	22	4
MARYLAND						
Johnson	5	5	50	5	5	50
Brewster	1	9	10	1	9	10
Garmatz	0	10	0	2	39	5
Fallon	1	8	11	14	25	36
Lankford	1	8	11	3	24	11
Foley	0	10	0	0	10	0
Friedel	0	10	0	2	33	6
MASSACHUSETTS						
CONTE	5	5	50	5	5	50
ROGERS	2	7	22	19	20	49
BATES	8	2	80	33	5	87
KEITH	8	2	80	8	2	80
CURTIS	6	4	60	19	16	54
MARTIN	4	4	50	20	12	63
Boland	0	10	0	1	34	3
Philbin	0	10	0	4	37	10
Donohue	0	10	0	2	39	5
Lane	0	10	0	2	39	5
Macdonald	0	10	0	3	25	11
O'Neill	0	10	0	2	33	6
McCormack	0	10	0	0	42	0
Burke	0	10	0	0	10	0
MICHIGAN - Detroit						
Machrowicz	0	10	0	0	36	0
Diggs	0	9	0	1	26	4
Rabaut	0	10	0	1	39	3
Dingell	0	10	0	0	24	0
Lesinski	0	10	0	1	34	3
Griffiths	0	10	0	1	25	4
MICHIGAN - Outside Detroit						
MEADER	10	0	100	28	7	80
JOHANSEN	10	0	100	27	1	96
HOFFMAN	10	0	100	41	0	100
FORD	9	1	90	32	9	78
CHAMBERLAIN	7	3	70	14	9	61
BENTLEY	7	3	70	30	4	88
GRIFFIN	9	1	90	16	6	73
CEDERBERG	9	1	90	33	2	94
KNOX	9	1	90	28	5	85
BENNETT	4	6	40	15	25	38
BROOMFIELD	7	3	70	12	11	52
O'Hara	0	10	0	0	10	0
MINNESOTA						
QUIE	9	1	90	11	1	92
NELSEN	9	1	90	9	1	90
JUDD	9	1	90	27	15	64
ANDERSEN	9	1	90	36	6	86
LANGEN	9	1	90	9	1	90
Wier	0	10	0	2	39	5
Karth	0	10	0	0	10	0
Marshall	2	7	22	9	30	23
Blatnik	0	10	0	2	40	5
MISSISSIPPI						
Abernethy	8	2	80	30	11	73
Whitten	9	1	90	30	10	75
Smith	6	4	60	15	20	43
Williams	10	0	100	35	7	83
Winstead	10	0	100	31	6	84
Colmer	9	0	100	34	7	83
MISSOURI						
CURTIS	8	2	80	27	9	75
Karsten	0	10	0	0	42	0
Sullivan	0	10	0	0	35	0
Randall	0	10	0	0	10	0
Bolling	0	10	0	0	40	0
Hull	7	3	70	15	13	54
Brown	0	10	0	4	18	18
Carnahan	0	9	0	0	38	0
Cannon	6	3	67	13	27	33
Jones	8	2	80	19	21	48
Moulder	1	9	10	4	36	10

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOTING RECORD—HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

	86th Congress			80th to 86th Congresses		
	Conservative	Liberal	Conservative Percentage	Conservative	Liberal	Conservative Percentage
MONTANA						
Metcalf	0	10	0	0	34	0
Anderson	0	7	0	0	17	0
NEBRASKA						
WEAVER	9	1	90	23	5	82
CUNNINGHAM	7	3	70	14	8	64
Brock	7	3	70	7	3	70
McGinley	6	4	60	6	4	60
NEVADA						
Baring	0	9	0	3	25	11
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
MERROW	2	8	20	18	23	44
BASS	8	2	80	16	12	57
NEW JERSEY						
CAHILL	5	5	50	5	5	50
GLENN	6	4	60	8	6	57
AUCHINCLOSS	7	3	70	26	15	63
FRELINGHUYSEN	7	3	70	20	15	57
DWYER	5	5	50	10	13	43
WIDNALL	5	5	50	20	19	51
CANFIELD	1	7	13	9	30	23
OSMERS	5	5	50	20	16	56
WALLHAUSER	5	5	50	5	5	50
Thompson	0	10	0	0	28	0
Rodino	0	10	0	0	40	0
Addonizio	0	10	0	0	41	0
Gallagher	0	9	0	0	9	0
Daniels	0	10	0	0	10	0
NEW MEXICO						
Montoya	0	7	0	2	15	12
Morris	3	5	38	3	5	38
NEW YORK-N.Y. City						
HALPERN	2	8	20	2	8	20
BOSCH	9	1	90	29	6	83
DORN	4	6	40	11	22	33
RAY	9	1	90	30	5	86
LINDSAY	5	5	50	5	5	50
FINO	2	8	20	8	26	24
Holtzman	0	10	0	1	34	3
Delaney	0	10	0	1	39	3
Anfuso	0	10	0	1	26	4
Keogh	0	10	0	1	41	2
Kelly	0	10	0	2	36	5
Celler	0	10	0	0	42	0
Multer	0	10	0	0	41	0
Rooney	0	10	0	1	41	2
Powell	0	9	0	1	38	3
Santangelo	0	10	0	0	23	0
Farbstein	0	10	0	0	22	0
Teller	0	10	0	0	20	0
Zelenko	0	10	0	0	27	0
Healey	0	10	0	0	24	0
Gilbert	0	6	0	0	6	0
Buckley	0	10	0	0	37	0
NEW YORK-Outside N.Y. City						
WAINWRIGHT	6	4	60	22	12	65
DEROUNIAN	9	1	90	29	6	83
BECKER	9	1	90	26	7	79
DOOLEY	8	2	80	15	7	68
BARRY	9	1	90	9	1	90
ST. GEORGE	9	1	90	36	5	88
WHARTON	9	1	90	26	7	79
TAYLOR	7	3	70	30	10	75
KILBURN	10	0	100	35	3	92
PIRNIE	8	2	80	8	2	80
RIEHLMAN	6	3	67	28	11	72
TABER	10	0	100	40	2	95
ROBISON	9	1	90	12	2	86
WEIS	7	3	70	7	3	70
OSTERTAG	9	1	90	27	8	77
MILLER	9	1	90	29	5	85
PILLION	9	1	90	27	4	87
GOODELL	8	1	89	8	1	89
O'Brien	0	10	0	2	33	6
Stratton	2	8	20	2	8	20
Dulski	0	10	0	0	10	0
NORTH CAROLINA						
JONAS	10	0	100	32	3	91
Bonner	5	3	63	24	16	60
Fountain	8	2	80	17	18	49
Barden	9	1	90	28	8	78
Cooley	5	3	63	20	18	53
Scott	8	1	89	16	6	73
Durham	6	3	67	23	15	61
Lennon	9	1	90	19	7	73
Kitchin	9	1	90	18	5	78
Alexander	7	1	88	23	10	70
Whitener	8	2	80	17	6	74
NORTH DAKOTA						
SHORT	10	0	100	10	0	100
Burdick	0	9	0	0	10	0
OHIO						
SCHERER	9	1	90	32	2	94
HESS	9	0	100	33	3	92
SCHENCK	9	1	90	27	9	75
McCULLOCH	9	1	90	38	2	95
LATTA	9	1	90	9	1	90
BROWN	9	1	90	38	4	90
BETTS	9	1	90	33	3	92
DEVINE	9	1	90	9	1	90
BAUMHART	8	2	80	17	11	61
AYRES	7	3	70	22	14	61
HENDERSON	9	1	90	25	3	89
BOW	10	0	100	35	1	97
BOLTON	8	2	80	30	11	73
MINSHALL	9	0	100	24	3	89
Ashley	0	9	0	1	26	4
Moeller	0	9	0	0	9	0
Cook	0	10	0	0	10	0
Levering	0	10	0	0	10	0
Hays	0	10	0	2	36	5
Kirwan	0	10	0	1	41	2
Feighan	1	9	10	5	37	12
Vanik	0	10	0	2	25	7
OKLAHOMA						
BELCHER	9	1	90	31	4	89
Edmondson	0	10	0	6	28	18
Albert	2	8	20	9	31	23
Steed	1	7	13	12	23	34
Jarman	6	4	60	16	18	47
Morris	1	7	13	7	20	26
OREGON						
NORBLAD	8	2	80	27	12	69
Ullman	0	10	0	0	23	0
Green	0	10	0	1	27	4
Porter	0	10	0	0	22	0
PENNSYLVANIA-Philadelphia						
Barrett	0	10	0	0	40	0
Granahan	0	10	0	0	23	0
Byrne	0	10	0	0	34	0
Nix	0	10	0	0	11	0
Green	0	10	0	0	39	0
Toll	0	10	0	0	10	0
PENNSYLVANIA-Pittsburgh						
FULTON	1	9	10	8	33	20
CORBETT	2	8	20	9	33	21
Moorhead	0	10	0	0	10	0
Holland	0	10	0	0	25	0
PENNSYLVANIA-Outside Pittsburgh and Philadelphia						
MILLIKEN	8	2	80	8	2	80
CURTIN	5	5	50	10	13	43
DAGUE	9	1	90	33	7	83
FENTON	7	3	70	30	11	73
LAFORE	8	1	89	11	2	85
MUMMA	9	1	90	28	6	82
SCHNEEBELI	3	1	75	3	1	75
VAN ZANDT	3	7	30	20	21	49
SAYLOR	3	6	33	18	20	47
GAVIN	7	3	70	32	10	76
KEARNS	8	2	80	31	10	76
Prokop	0	10	0	0	10	0
Flood	0	10	0	2	32	6
Rhodes	0	10	0	1	40	2
Walter	0	10	0	8	31	21
Quigley	0	10	0	0	15	0
Dent	0	10	0	1	13	7
Clark	0	10	0	4	24	14
Morgan	0	10	0	2	39	5
RHODE ISLAND						
Forand	0	9	0	1	38	3
Fogarty	0	10	0	4	38	10
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Rivers	8	2	80	29	11	73
Riley	9	1	90	26	10	72
Dorn	10	0	100	27	9	75
Ashmore	10	0	100	23	8	74
Hemphill	9	1	90	18	5	78
McMillan	10	0	100	33	8	80
SOUTH DAKOTA						
BERRY	10	0	100	32	4	89
McGovern	0	10	0	1	20	5
TENNESSEE						
REECE	9	1	90	23	7	77
BAKER	6	4	60	19	15	56
Frazier	6	4	60	13	25	34
Evins	5	5	50	17	22	44
Loser	7	3	70	15	7	68
Bass	3	7	30	9	19	32
Murray	10	0	100	30	11	73
Everett	6	4	60	7	6	54
Davis	5	5	50	17	19	47
TEXAS						
ALGER	10	0	100	28	0	100
Patman	4	6	40	12	24	33
Brooks	2	8	20	11	23	32
Beckworth	5	5	50	14	15	48
Rayburn	0	0	0	1	6	14
Teague	6	2	75	28	12	70
Dowdy	8	0	100	25	6	81
Thomas	3	6	33	20	20	50
Thompson	4	6	40	17	21	45
Thornberry	4	6	40	16	22	42
Poage	6	4	60	24	16	60
Wright	6	4	60	13	15	46
Ikard	5	5	50	18	17	51
Young	6	2	75	11	10	52
Kilgore	6	4	60	17	11	61
Rutherford	5	5	50	15	13	54
Burleson	6	1	86	25	14	64
Rogers	7	1	88	20	12	63
Mahon	9	1	90	29	13	69
Kilday	5	4	56	23	17	58
Fisher	8	2	80	33	6	85
Casey	7	3	70	7	3	70
UTAH						
DIXON	8	2	80	17	11	61
King	1	9	10	1	9	10
VERMONT						
Meyer	0	10	0	0	10	0
VIRGINIA						
POFF	10	0	100	31	4	89
BROYHILL	10	0	100	29	6	83
Downing	10	0	100	10	0	100
Hardy	8	2	80	28	14	67
Gary	10	0	100	32	10	76
Abbitt	10	0	100	33	8	80
Tuck	10	0	100	28	6	82
Harrison	10	0	100	35	7	83
Smith	10	0	100	37	5	88
Jennings	4	6	40	15	13	54
WASHINGTON						
PELLY	9	1	90	20	14	59
WESTLAND	8	2	80	25	9	74
MAY	9	1	90	9	1	90
HORAN	8	2	80	29	13	69
TOLLEFSON	2	7	22	9	31	23
Magnuson	0	9	0	0	33	0
WEST VIRGINIA						
MOORE	3	7	30	10	13	43
Staggers	0	10	0	3	38	7
Bailey	0	10	0	4	34	11
Hechler	0	10	0	0	10	0
Kee	0	10	0	2	33	6
Slack	0	10	0	0	10	0
WISCONSIN						
WITHROW	7	2	78	17	23	43
VAN PELT	9	1	90	34	1	97
LAIRD	9	1	90	31	4	89
BYRNES	9	1	90	37	5	88
O'KONSKI	1	7	13	7	32	18
Flynn	0	10	0	0	10	0
Kastenmeier	0	10	0	0	10	0
Zablocki	0	10	0	0	41	0
Reuss	0	10	0	0	28	0
Johnson	0	10	0	2	29	6
WYOMING						
THOMSON	9	1	90	25	3	89

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOTING RECORD—SENATE

	86th Congress			80th to 86th Congresses		
	Conservative	Liberal	Conservative Percentage	Conservative	Liberal	Conservative Percentage
ALABAMA						
Hill	3	7	30	7	39	15
Sparkman	3	6	33	8	37	18
ALASKA						
Bartlett	3	7	30	3	7	30
Gruening	2	8	20	2	8	20
ARIZONA						
Hayden	3	5	38	9	33	29
GOLDWATER	9	0	100	34	0	100
ARKANSAS						
McClellan	10	0	100	29	14	67
Fulbright	5	4	56	18	23	44
CALIFORNIA						
KUCHEL	5	5	50	20	17	54
Engle	0	10	0	6	36	14
COLORADO						
ALLOTT	6	4	60	22	11	67
Carroll	0	10	0	0	31	0
CONNECTICUT						
BUSH	7	3	70	25	10	71
Dodd	2	8	20	4	15	21
DELAWARE						
WILLIAMS	10	0	100	44	1	98
Frear	6	2	75	25	13	66
FLORIDA						
Holland	9	1	90	35	11	76
Smathers	7	0	100	22	14	61
GEORGIA						
Russell	7	0	100	25	15	63
Talmadge	9	1	90	17	9	65
HAWAII						
FONG	1	2	33	1	2	33
Long	0	3	0	0	3	0
IDAHO						
DWORSHAK	10	0	100	39	3	93
Church	2	8	20	3	20	13
ILLINOIS						
Douglas	0	10	0	0	44	0
DIRKSEN	8	1	89	31	6	84
INDIANA						
CAPEHART	8	1	89	35	10	78
Hartke	2	7	22	2	7	22
IOWA						
HICKENLOOPER	9	1	90	38	4	90
MARTIN	9	1	90	28	5	85
KANSAS						
SCHOEPPEL	10	0	100	38	3	93
CARLSON	9	0	100	33	5	87
KENTUCKY						
COOPER	3	7	30	11	21	34
MORTON	8	2	80	20	12	63
LOUISIANA						
Ellender	7	3	70	24	20	55
Long	5	5	50	15	27	36
MAINE						
SMITH	2	8	20	15	29	34
Muskie	0	9	0	0	9	0
MARYLAND						
BUTLER	9	0	100	35	2	95
BEALL	4	3	57	18	15	55
MASSACHUSETTS						
SALTONSTALL	9	0	100	36	6	86
Kennedy	0	6	0	1	31	3
MICHIGAN						
McNamara	0	9	0	0	32	0
Hart	0	10	0	0	10	0
MINNESOTA						
Humphrey	0	7	0	0	39	0
McCarthy	0	9	0	0	40	0
MISSISSIPPI						
Eastland	8	0	100	29	12	71
Stennis	10	0	100	29	15	66
MISSOURI						
Hennings	0	9	0	0	37	0
Symington	0	10	0	0	38	0
MONTANA						
Murray	2	4	33	5	35	13
Mansfield	2	8	20	5	33	13
NEBRASKA						
HRUSKA	10	0	100	31	2	94
CURTIS	10	0	100	32	1	97
NEVADA						
Bible	4	6	40	10	21	32
Cannon	3	7	30	3	7	30
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
BRIDGES	8	0	100	36	4	90
COTTON	10	0	100	30	3	91
NEW JERSEY						
CASE	4	5	44	12	20	38
Williams	0	10	0	1	17	6
NEW MEXICO						
Chavez	4	3	57	8	32	20
Anderson	2	6	25	7	29	19
NEW YORK						
JAVITS	3	7	30	7	32	18
KEATING	6	4	60	28	14	67
NORTH CAROLINA						
Ervin	7	2	78	19	15	56
Jordan	8	1	89	12	5	71
NORTH DAKOTA						
YOUNG	10	0	100	26	15	63
BRUNSDALE	3	0	100	3	0	100
OHIO						
Lausche	6	4	60	15	8	65
Young	0	10	0	0	10	0
OKLAHOMA						
Kerr	5	4	56	12	30	29
Monroney	3	7	30	7	29	19
OREGON						
Morse	0	9	0	1	44	2
Lusk	0	2	0	0	2	0
PENNSYLVANIA						
Clark	0	10	0	0	26	0
SCOTT	6	4	60	17	20	46
RHODE ISLAND						
Green	1	7	13	4	40	9
Pastore	0	9	0	1	37	3
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Johnston	7	3	70	16	30	35
Thurmond	10	0	100	23	6	79
SOUTH DAKOTA						
MUNDT	8	2	80	37	7	82
CASE	7	3	70	31	8	79
TENNESSEE						
Kefauver	2	7	22	11	38	22
Gore	2	8	20	4	25	14
TEXAS						
Johnson	2	7	22	4	30	12
Yarborough	2	8	20	4	19	17
UTAH						
BENNETT	8	1	89	35	3	92
Moss	2	7	22	2	7	22
VERMONT						
AIKEN	5	4	56	18	24	43
PROUTY	8	1	89	21	14	60
VIRGINIA						
Byrd	10	0	100	41	2	95
Robertson	10	0	100	42	4	91
WASHINGTON						
Magnuson	0	8	0	1	41	2
Jackson	0	10	0	0	38	0
WEST VIRGINIA						
Randolph	2	8	20	2	8	20
Byrd	3	7	30	7	28	20
WISCONSIN						
WILEY	5	4	56	22	16	58
Proxmire	0	9	0	0	21	0
WYOMING						
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